1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

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When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

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There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

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At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

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Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 [1711] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

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All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

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As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

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796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

[211] The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor.

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is interesting that these same village men do come home in April to celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [178] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [178] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procesion as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

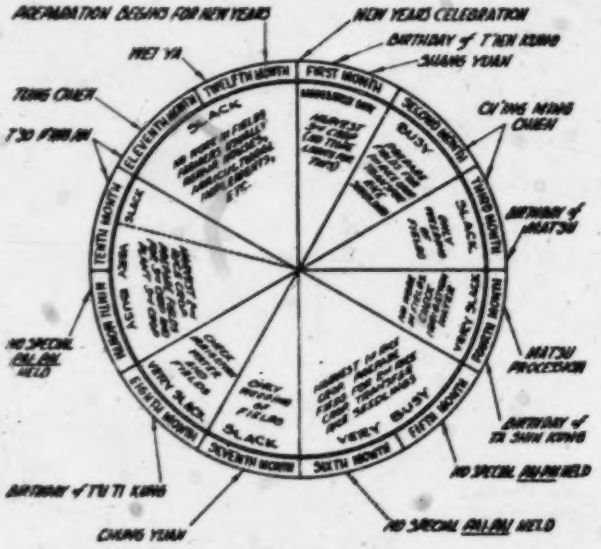

FIG. 5. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

796 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the reli-
798 gious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities
634 all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the
621 god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's
794 authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The
796 management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-
634 wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his
776 authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the
634 responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[685] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[969] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The
head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago
in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife
die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and
relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the
Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve
as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy
sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty obser-
vances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[794] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[778] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of
Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung
temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in
charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two
Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and
irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has
begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [746] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the spcial committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

794 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the
621 typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee
632 did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly
794 participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At
632 first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major
628 temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

796 794 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily.

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[796] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

121 562 79b I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

• 79b Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

796 [556] rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

778 674 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Mainlander soldiers. 782 On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

• 796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

796 than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu
[776] festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin
[535] Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

799 As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

79 There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

• 786 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

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Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
796 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
573 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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783 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police
• 796 permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from out-
621 side the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About
796 seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

783 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and
• 796 veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the
[834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would
[534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in
783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the
787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three
796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would become possessed. If the touching is rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[511] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[755] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried woman's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

783 signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has
796 been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

783 The first chair, after a false start running beside
796 the fire down its length, was carried the length of the
789 fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
783 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

796 524 435 [585] The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare [178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan- 782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular deci-
183 sion or action because he can then say the gods so order
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Additionally, religious events are fun and along
182 with certain life crises events, almost the only periods
771 of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It ap-
796 pears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

771 It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion
805 also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly,
461 monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is
182 justified on a religious basis.

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787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

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527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

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[796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

thirteen months according to the year's position in a nineteen-year intercalation cycle (Carroll, 1963:4-5). The extra month is assigned the same number as the month immediately preceding it. Villagers would say, for example, that 1966 had two "third" months. Although religious holidays based on a monthly cycle would be celebrated during the extra month, those based on a yearly cycle would only be celebrated during the first of the duplicated months.

Because of the differing length of the months and the differing number of months in any one year, the lunar and solar calendars do not match. Lunar New Year commences sometime in January or February of the solar calendar. Without exception, villagers were all aware of the current date at any moment in time according to the lunar calendar. On the other hand, most villagers were not aware of the current date according to the solar calendar. The awareness of solar dates was related to structural factors. As would be expected, those who worked in businesses or factories as well as those who did business regularly in the city were more knowledgable and therefore, on the average, men were more aware of both kinds of dates than women.

The Yearly Religious Cycle

In traditional China, there was no custom of a five-day or six-day week followed by one or two days for rest and recreation. Nevertheless, an equivalent relief period was provided by the celebration of various religious

• 7% festivals which punctuated the yearly cycle; these served as a functional alternative by special interspersing recreation days in the work schedule. Most of the special days were regularly scheduled, some on a yearly basis and some on a monthly basis. As previously described, some were specially scheduled in addition such as that for the Fire Purification Ceremony. Each of the major events in Sanlei's cycle will be discussed briefly below with dates indicated in accordance with the lunar calendar.[4] The particular events and/or the dates for their celebration vary for different regions of China, but nevertheless, the overall frequency appears to be about the same everywhere.

The listed items are not all of equal importance. For some, the activities might be restricted to a few hours in the evening and involve only the household members and even then, in only a minority of village homes. For others, the activities may last several days, involve many guests, and include 100% village participation. In general, most holidays always involve extra worship activities and special food in the evening at dinner. The presence of guests is nearly always evident for the more important affairs.

The year starts with the Hsin Nien (New Year's) celebration on the first day of the first month. This is the most important festival in the yearly cycle and the whole li cooperates in its celebration. Entertainment is always hired and usually retained for a full three days. Actually,

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• 796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties [831] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in- [574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair [780] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the [777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

Ch'ing Ming Chieh (Clear and Bright) is celebrated during the third month sometime between the first and fifteenth.[5] The primary worship is of gods and ancestors with an important task of cleaning and decorating ancestral graves. At this festival, many kinship units larger than a single family gather to worship together and clean the common graves. Most people prepare and serve special cakes. Almost every household in the area participates with the exceptions made up of a few immigrants who do not have a family burial plot in the area. The day before Ch'ing Ming Chieh, about one third of the households build no fires and therefore, eat only cold food in remembrance, villagers say, of an event during the period of the "Warring States." On the day of Ch'ing Ming Chieh itself, many villagers who have migrated permanently to the city return to Sanlei Ts'un for worship and celebration.

The second most important yearly event in Sanlei is the Matsu procession which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month and as previously stated, is the only religious affair for which cooperative activities extend beyond the confines of Talei Li. Beyond the li boundaries, the cooperation in the touring entertainment and god's procession lasts only one day, but inside Talei Li as well as inside several other li in the Hsin Tien area, the celebration usually lasts three days. There are usually elaborate hired entertainment programs such as an opera, many dinners

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] [84] most general. Village women now make special worship offerings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. [262] In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves. [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 705 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

796 return until after New Year although part of their responsibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 782 For most of the above events, although details vary, worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers, and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible, there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

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514 villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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562 Most villagers claim that men are responsible for
782 carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

796 291 The above events serve to break up the year. Moreover, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 178 369 There are also the national holidays which are scheduled according to a calendar, but in this case the western calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [349] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

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362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer